1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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161 enumeration of the population. My process was to get together several
124 of the most intelligent and well-informed men in the district; cause them
to compare notes and then to tie a series of knots in strings as they are
[211] accustomed to do; different kinds of knots distinguishing the sexes. Each house was counted separately, so that I obtained an exact census of the whole country with the following results. This cord census is now in the museum of the Smithsonian Institution, with many other articles, illustrating the life and customs of the people.

[162] The population of each district is as follows:

Tiribi	103
Uren	604
Bri-bri	172
Cabecar	128
The Valley	219
Total	1226

This covers all of the water-sheds of the Tilorio and Tiliri rivers except two small bands; the Changinas on the Changina branch of the Tilorio and a refugee remnant of the Cabecars on the extreme head of the Tiliri. Probably an additional hundred would cover all of these.

On the North or Estrella river, and on the Chiripo, there are a few more Cabecars who have little communication with the headquarters of the tribe, but who are in the habit of going out to Limon or Matina for what little trade they require. These are probably in all, not more than 200 or 300 in number. Nearly all speak Spanish and they are gradually approximating to civilized or semi-civilized ways.

[461] The cause of the rapid decrease in the population is their extreme in-
146 dolence. With a country fitted to produce all the fruits of the tropics;
where maize grows luxuriantly, and where cattle and pigs increase with-
● 262 out care or labor; they are content to make plantains their staple, and almost their only food. Chicha the form in which most of their maize
[273] is used, is a beverage very slightly intoxicating, if drank in large quantities, but the amount of nutriment derived from it is unimportant. Meat, whether of domestic or wild animals, is a rarity and a luxury, and the banana or plantain make up all deficiencies. The natural consequence of a bulky and comparatively innutritious diet is a low physical state.
147 The system has little resisting power against disease, or healing power
164 over wounds. A slight attack of coast fever, which, with an ordinary strong man of our own race, would be comparatively harmless, is very apt to terminate fatally with these people. Indolent ulcers are so common that perhaps a full fourth of not only adults, but even children have them, usually on the legs, originating in some slight scratch or bruise; and very few of the elderly persons are without their scars. These ulcers often last for years, and I have seen them as broad as the
165 two hands opened side by side. Although the local diseases are few, the entire absence of medical treatment, the ignorance of the first principles

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "eboe" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zë-bo'* and by the Boruca, *Si'-bök*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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123 acquired the title of *Awa*. When asked by my brother professionals to exhibit my charms, I always gravely produced my little pocket compass, which, by its mysterious movements, never failed to impress them. I never could persuade the boldest to touch it.

262 Three kinds of fasts are observed. The first is only when ordered by the *U-se'-ku-ru* on great public occasions. This is general and simultaneous over all the country. Sufficient food is prepared beforehand to last for three days, the usual time fixed. During those three days, no fires are lighted; the food is served and eaten in silence; no unnecessary conversation is allowed; the people stay strictly inside their houses, or if they go out during day time, they carefully cover themselves from the light of the sun, believing that exposure to the sun's rays would "turn them black"; no salt or other condiment is used in the food; no chocolate is drunk, and even tobacco is forbidden. The second kind is similar, though less rigid than the first, and is voluntary; the same restrictions are observed with reference to fires and food, but the people may talk and go out, avoiding, however, carefully all chance of contact with *bu-ku-ru'*. The third is still more limited, and is the individual fast already referred to for cleansing from *bu-ku-ru'*.

474 574 The feasts are of two classes; the death feast already described, and re-unions for labor. In the latter case; when a person wants to do an extraordinary piece of work, like clearing a piece of forest for a plantation, he provides a suitable quantity of food, and especially of chicha. On the day appointed his neighbors unite early at his house, or at the spot designated, and work industriously until about noon. All then repair to the house, and, after a good round of chicha drinking, food is served, followed by more chicha. After a while dancing begins, and is kept up as long as the chicha holds out. Sometimes the work is continued for two or three days, but always ends early in the day, the afternoon and evening being devoted to eating and especially to drinking.

241 [461] [273] No labor can be accomplished without liberal allowances of chicha, and the man who is the most profuse in this respect is the best fellow. A man will sometimes undertake to make his own clearing, unassisted, but it is very slow work, and drags on at the rate of two or three hours' work a day, with many days of rest. The trees once cut down, the man will burn off the brush, assisted by his sons, or sons-in-law, if he has any, and then plants his crop; usually corn for making more chicha. After that it has to take care of itself. He goes out occasionally to hunt, fish, or sometimes to bring a bunch of plantains. When the corn is nearly ripe, the boys have to watch it to scare off the parrots and pigs. If there are no boys in the family, then all hands usually go and occupy a little shed in, or on the edge of the cornfield. They feast on the green and ripening corn until it is too hard to boil, and then collect what has been left to ripen.

462 The labor of the women is to bring plantains and water, and to cook and wash. They are never required to do work in the plantation, unless

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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622 301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most [727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as [422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might 293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long. 622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on [532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

● 262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork, which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salt- [25] ing meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time. [224] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc- [25] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innoxious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse 252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

273 ear and ejected them from her mouth into the calabash. The rapidity of the process was marvelous. She seemed to shave all the grains from an entire ear almost without stopping. There did not to seem be much chewing done, but of course the object was to obtain the saliva secreted during the operation. As fast as her calabash was full she emptied it into the jar of chicha, and proceeded to refill it. I lay in my hammock fully half an hour watching her until she had finished. The next day that chicha was drank and pronounced excellent. I never tried this kind. Such is the force of prejudice. I learned early to prefer doing my own eating.

262 Beans are also used to some extent, but the quantity planted is generally small, and the people soon have to return to their regular plantains and chicha. I do not think I ever saw half a bushel of beans together in one house. They are large, dark, and generally mottled. They never become very hard, and are of a very good flavor. [249] Small quantities of sugar cane, of a very excellent quality, are raised, but it is only for the purpose [263] of chewing. They never attempt to make sugar or syrup, although some of the foreigners in their country as well as the negroes on the coast make the latter, and the Indians are perfectly familiar with the process. Of the foreigners in the country, perhaps a dozen in all, sambos or mulattoes, with the exception of Mr. Lyon, all raise rice as one of their most important food-staples. [439] The Indians are fond of it, frequently buy it, but never attempt to cultivate it. Of the less important items, they have the fruit of a species of palm called *du-ko'* (*pejibaile* of the Spaniards). This is a small pear-shaped fruit, growing in great clusters; it has a thin skin on the outside, and a small round seed in the centre. It may be compared to a diminutive cocoanut, the edible portion corresponding with the fibrous husk of that nut. The seed corresponding with the cocoanut proper, is solid and very hard, but has a pleasant flavor. The fruit is [245] very easily raised, requires no care beyond the first planting, and a little weeding for the first year or two, and yet, except at Sarwe, it is very scarce. 824 It is from the wood of this tree that the bows, the arrow tips, the planting and fighting-sticks, &c., are made. Another species of palm furnishes a food, agreeable to the taste, an excellent salad when properly dressed, a perfect substitute for cabbage when cooked, but withal, as my party discovered on one hard journey we made, not very nutritious. It is the bud of tender, half-formed leaves at the top, and can only be obtained by cutting down the tree. It is similar to the deservedly famous palm cabbage of the West Indies, and differs principally in being only about half as large. We found, after living on it almost alone, for nearly a week, that it was good principally for deceiving one's self into starving on a full stomach. *Kilitt*, or "greens" is a favorite dish, probably not much more nutritious than the last. It is made from various tender leaves, put into a pot with little or no water, and gradually stemmed into a paste with their own juice. This is eaten [263] with salt when they have it; otherwise, without.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

courtesy of Professor Saville, from whose collection of prints it came. 481

Food.—Plantains are extensively used, and, eaten boiled, seem to form the staple diet of the Bribri. Bananas are also extensively eaten. According to Gabb,[19] the Indians roast green plantains as a substitute for bread, but when ripe they are roasted and eaten with chocolate, in order to sweeten the latter. They are also boiled green to eat with meat or corn. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, and mixed with equal quantities of corn-meal paste for cakes or chicha; sometimes this paste is diluted with water and made into a gruel. 262 ● 252

Corn in a variety of colors is cultivated—red, white, blue, yellow, black, and purple. It is eaten when fresh, boiled in the ear; but it is generally dried, hulled, and ground to flour on a stone metate with a mano, or, as Gabb relates, on a flat slab from one of the buttresses of a ceiba tree, dressed smooth. The dry corn is soaked over night to soften it; it is then spread on the metate and crushed with the convex stone muller, which is rocked over it. The paste is then boiled,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[312] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
●[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-ko*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) - (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

248 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *fjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *oskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *pawel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudotelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 Fishing. The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
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Missions and Settlements of Converted Indians in the Mountains of Talamanca.

The first mission to the heathen, the conversion of whom was undertaken by this Apostolic College, was that of *Talamanca*, in the Province of *Costa Rica*, distant 80 leagues from the city of *Cartago* and from this city of *Guatemala*, where this College is situated, more than 500, travelling almost due East, on account of which distance the provision for the Friars who are stationed there is very hard—not alone for their requirements but for the converted Indians, both in the matter of clothing which will cover their total nakedness and tools for tilling the soil. All those mountain regions are covered with very dense forests and the country is very rough, extending from East to West about 120 leagues and from North to South 30 to 40. The country is much cut up by ravines, the Cordilleras being very high and many rivers and gulches coming down from it, the waters of which flow to the North. The climate is very hot, although upon the summits it gets very cold. It rains the greater part of the year, and the shade of the forests does not allow the soil to dry except in a very limited area. Its geographical location is 10 degrees of North latitude and 290 of longitude, at some places more and some places less, according to the course of its extent.

The products of these mountains for the use of man are plantains, in abundance; *pigibayes*,[1] guavas, yucas,[2] *camotes*,[3] sweet potatoes and a great deal of maize, which they plant throughout the entire year. For meat they have only wild boars,[4] *saginos*,[5] deer,[6] small goats,[7] and other quadrupeds. Of birds there grow in those mountains *pangiles*,[8] *pavones*,[9] mountain hens,[10] eagles and other kinds of fowls.

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[1] *Guilielma utilis.*
[2] *Manihot palmata.*
[3] *Ipomoea batatas.*
[4] *Dicotyles labiatus.*
[5] *Dicotyles torquatus.*
[6] *Cervus mexicanus.*
[7] *Cervus rufinus.*
[8] *Cuvieronius globiceps.*
[9] *Penelope purpurascens.*
[10] *Odontophorus verreauxii.*

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

[136] [133] [262]

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

[797] 174

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

[101]

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).

245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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(*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribrí), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maiz puquísimo. . . ."

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262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ½ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

½ [See category 116, End Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[262] the range they are kept more as a bank account
[954] than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the
[411] required number of steers for a communal feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[11]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[10] Stone, 1956.

[128] [11] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

[1] [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 136 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The favorite way to hunt is with one or more companions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

224 [231]

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[2] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot the head is not lost. For jaguars and other large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye* palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

224 411 [223]

[223] 411 824 Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5 feet 10 inches or more in length. When possible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns is cut at the wane of the moon as it is supposedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[821] 322

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

1 2 [See category 116, END PLATE 2 – ANALYST.]

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322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* [824] leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1/4] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as [415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting [857] birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a ●[262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *shamokaL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

1/4 [Esco category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[2] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[72] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*havas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[2] [See category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

[72] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

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372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
[262] practised. Here the people depend upon bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
[574] quence require chocolate. It is also the most appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[16] Stone, 1949a, p. 10.

[17] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se
[361]

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Past	Present	Future
5 days past *skɬLi*		5 days after today *skɬiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

All events of life are bound by tabus and fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, certain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

Pre-natal. Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okym* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. This does not happen on the Pacific side.

Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES middle of P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

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805 192 177 On the Pacific side, the school has been responsible for the use of the European divisions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 [343] Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a [826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any [761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which [264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and [262] pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the 846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of [824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

551 ripó, only the medicine man has a name which
[756] cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between
[145] 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict
[262] diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with
[271] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Furthermore, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine
[756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made
[824] from plants and roots. This beverage prevents
[278] menstruation for two months. After that the
841 flow comes regularly. At no time when men-
[264] struating can the girl serve men at meals, and
[262] during this period she must stay aside even in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is
[862] common and they are weaned anywhere from
[855] one and a half to two years of age. They are held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuak* is "to bathe."
192 [100] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552–53.
[100] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27–28.

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967 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course which one must adhere to before one can achieve this position. The fee for this is paid [465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty- •[262] two days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant must act as assistant five times, four of [785] which demand fasting, and for two days of which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to touch his face. The training of the novice begins at four o'clock in the morning when he must bathe with his teacher who is the only person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch another man or woman and must live during [343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he himself must build. The teacher likewise is not allowed to touch others, and must hand the food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact 787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for 767 the novice to go with the teacher at three o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put a string around one wrist and around each staff. Then the master sticks his pole in the ground and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow, it is a sign that the novice will live long and bury many people. If one dies, it is taken for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must 767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral. [262] He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*) and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific slope respect the Buriers. The comment of an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example, when questioned about the necessity of the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom, as is a law, and one has to do it whether one likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could use those from Salitre if their own were not available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist at the funeral must bathe three days later at four o'clock in the morning. They must also tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua* leaves.

967 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers 533 except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the [756] medicine man, as stated before, has taken over [775] their functions. The duties of the Singers were

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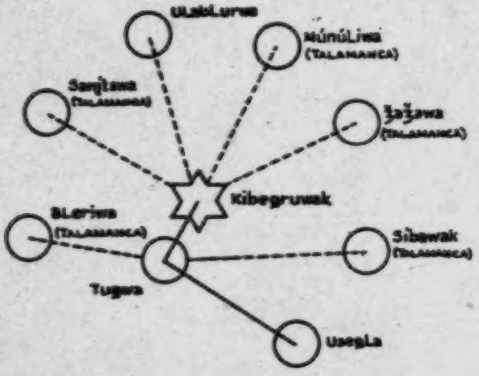

a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--Analyst]

614
177
manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614
463
[565]
Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

● 262
614
[643]

[117] The *isLiwak* and *tsirriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *bruparuak*.

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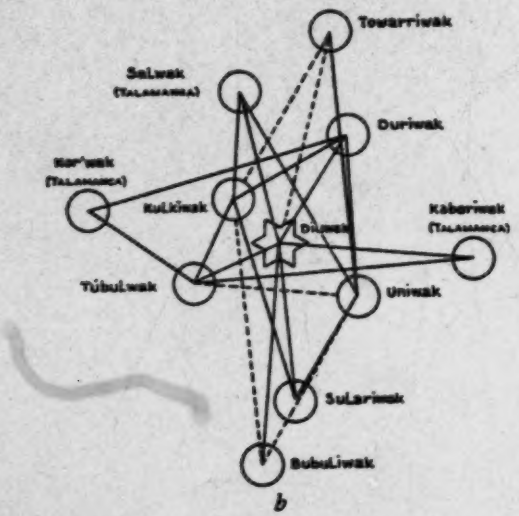

b

b, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séká* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ká* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *ápé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *dítsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *nnwaet* meaning "other group." [118]

[582]

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

[614]
101

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

[118] In the Cabécar, *dotswak* means "same group." *sébewetar* is "other group."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 41(B)]
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Bribri
Cabecar

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
● [262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[143] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.47(B)]

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Cabécar
Bribri
Terraba

784 825 [779] [224] tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 825 with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[774] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 825 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
● 262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.65(A)]

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Cabecar
Bribri

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

* 539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLəwak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) TOBACCO[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiŋə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiŋə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

[P. 99(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

APPENDIX I: Cultivated Foods and Domesticated Animals

241
262
192

BRIBRI

rice	*árros* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*)
beans	*átuwo* or *átu* (this covers all varieties)
Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.)	*shá átu*
black beans	*átu doLoLó*
red bean	*átu mátkLe*
butter bean	*tsówo*
pole bean	*átu kLóie*
yuca	*aLí*
black maize	*ikwó doLoLó*
yellow maize	*ikwó tsikríri*
white maizé	*ikwó nuruní*
bananas	*kLóm*
red banana	*kLóm mat*

[Text continues TOP of P. 99(C)--analyst]

CABÉCAR

yuca	*ikɔ*
pole bean	*kɔni kaLiá*
black bean	*kɔni doLoná*
red bean	*kɔni matká*
vegetable pear	*jaruɔ*
tiquízque	*buɔ*
pejibaye	*dikí*
seedless pejibaye	*dikí jɔʒerríbɔ*
rice	*arroz* (Spanish)
banana	*chomp*
plantain	*kalbí*
pig banana	*kɔchi chomp*
maize	*kwó*
black maize	*kwó doLana*
Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob)	*sejé kaikwó*
pumpkin	*pis*
coffee[1]	*capé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*)

[Text continues bottom of P. 99(C)--analyst]

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

[P.99(C)]

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Bribri
cabecar

APPENDIX I : Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

BRIBRI

241
262
192

guineos	*chimų́*
plantains	*tsaLá; muá*
sugar cane	*pákəL*
United Fruit Company bananas	*shwəwə*
chocolate	*tsirú*
pumpkin	*apí*
swine	*kíchi*
chicken	*tkró*
cow	*baca*
horse	*no word*
duck	*no word*
cat	*michi*
dog	*chichi*
pejibaye	*dikó*
alligator pear	*amók*

CABÉCAR

mango	*mango* (Spanish)
orange	*china*
chile	*lá*
Inga	*waLoa*
chocolate	*tsirá*
alligator pear	*jomó*
yam	*tsəLirba*
sour sap	*tsá*
papaya	*kichə*
sugar cane	*paltə*
cow	*vaca* (Spanish)
pig	*kəchi*
chicken	*jóskivo*
dog	*chichi*
cat	*michi*
turkey	*chó*
duck	*pato* (Spanish)
horse	*caballo* (Spanish)

[P. 100 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[1]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

		Red Variety	*Yellow Variety*
Humidity	gm.	36.4	49.6
Ether extract	"	8.17	3.53
Crude fiber	"	0.8	1.1
Nitrogen	"	0.633	0.401
Ashes	"	1.12	0.86
Calcium	mg.	14.4	8.9
Phosphorous	"	55.2	46.4

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--Qualyst]

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

824

	Latin	*Use*
tsíLi	*Heliocarpus Excelsior*	hammocks, rope, carrying bags
[283] kúrk	*Cecropia* sp.	to make fiber (burillo)
akuk-kLə	*Croton Glabellus*	for incense of copal
[278] kúLí	*Costus* sp.	for fever—mash stem and boil
[342] tsíchica	*Menispermacen Aesampeln*	used in building house instead of nails
[278] təbéchica	*Cissus* sp.	use whole vine, for colds, etc.
dipáchica	*Eupatorium Vitalbae*	fish poison
dufskLə	*Vernonia Patens*	to stop nose bleed; use leaf

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--Qualyst]

CABÉCAR

824
278

	Latin	*Use*
harbə	*Pbyllantus* sp. Pittieri	fish poison
chatə	*Serjania* sp.	fish poison
	Potbomorpbe piperaceae	boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration
[381] botuLú	*Eufobia sapium*	glue
chicarté	*Bocconia frutescans*	boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--Qualyst]

[1] English: Peach Palm.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.100(B)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[2]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	*Yellow Variety*
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrotin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	*Use*
824 [278] chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
apískicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
[845] sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
[272] [844] kloksɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ſirekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

CABÉCAR

	Latin	*Use*
[278] popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
[386] bóLk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
[515]	*Solanacis* sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
[278]	*Pepperomia* sp.	for heart

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 103(B)]

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the
648 visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occa-
[262] sion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into
[439] his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that
644 he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest
[613] of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña. This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 173–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.